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gamut
magazine**



march, 1969
forty cents

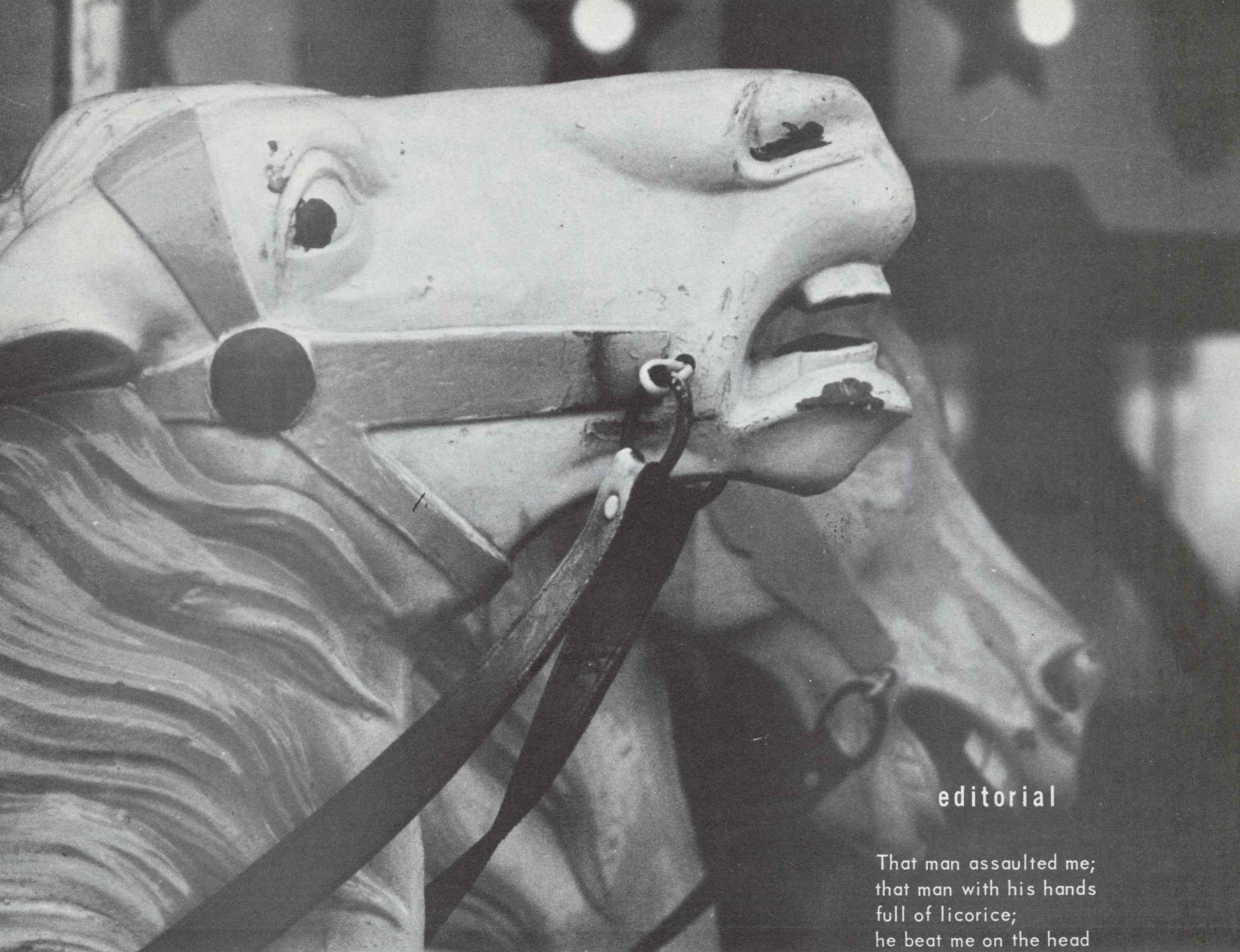
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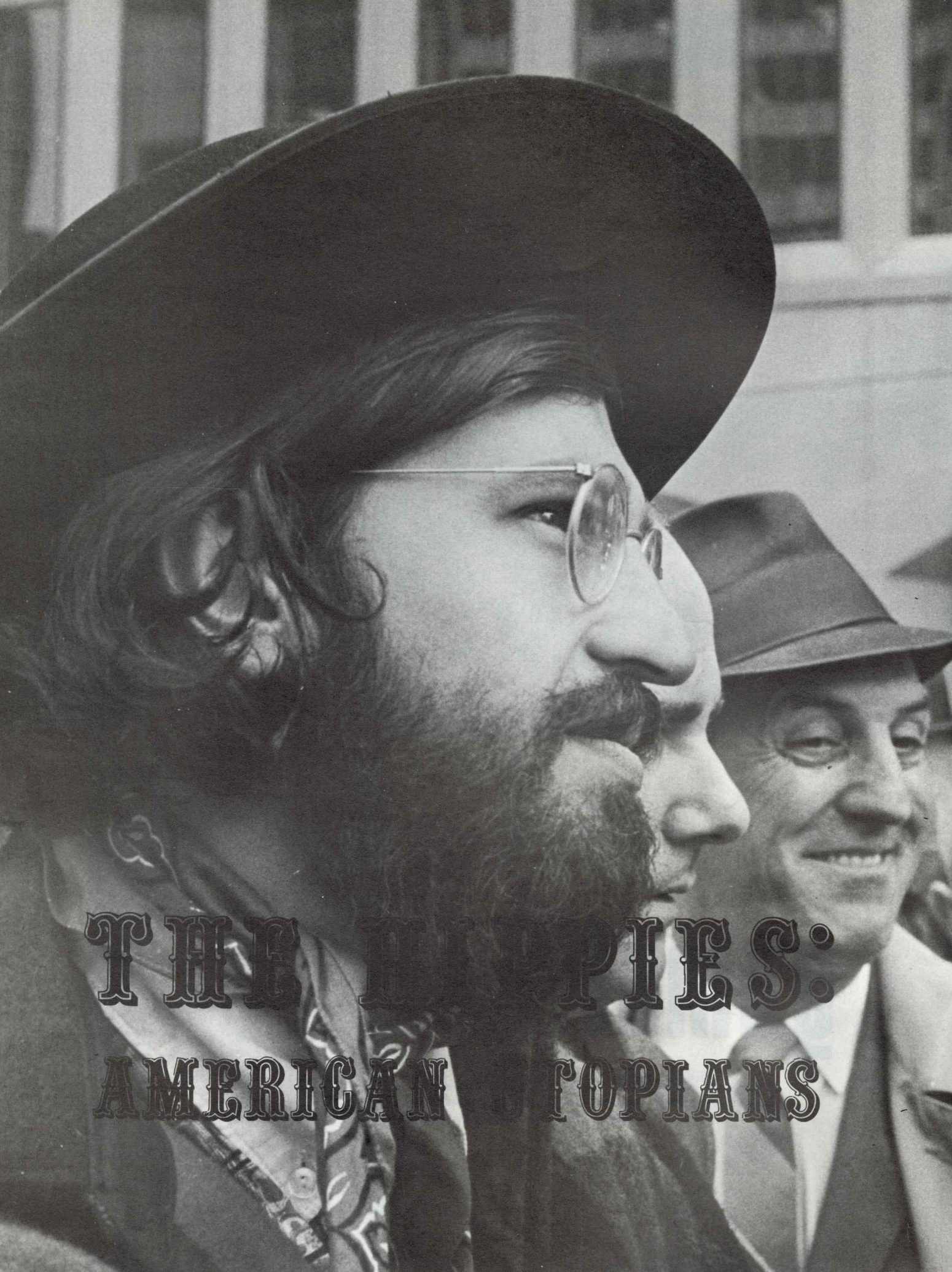
editorial

That man assaulted me;
that man with his hands
full of licorice;
he beat me on the head
with a green sock
stuffed with marshmallows;
he made me drink lime
water-flavoured with
hemlock.

Pompadour was there in
a lilac domino. She said:
The little brat kissed me
full on the mouth;
the little fool; he might
have died of the pox or
the small pox.

I had to sit and watch a
woman being slowly undressed.
Liszt helped; he drew a
cigar out of her roses.

Another said, sawing
stravinsky in half:
This is good cabbage soup
but it ain't kosher.



THE HIPPIES:
AMERICAN UTOPIANS

turned-on victims of The Great Society

robert martin

THE HIPPIES "FREAK OUT." THEY "DROP OUT." They do not perform their duties to society. They reject the difficult way of adjusting to society. Instead they abdicate responsibility. They seek their own pleasures, take their own Trips. They abandon society.

This view, expressed more or less temperately, has come to be accepted as the general view of the Hippie today. He is contrasted with the political activist and found wanting. Thus the condemnation of the Left falls on the Hippie almost as strongly for political reasons as that of the Center and Right falls on him for vaguely "moral" reasons.

The editor of Ramparts, which owes a good deal of its current chic in the intellectual community to its Hippie-ness, attacks the Hippies for

their "unrelenting quietism," which he sees as a threat to political activism. Quietism may indeed form a large part of the Hippie philosophy, but the Hippies are not apolitical. They are ultimately political. Where as the activists of the New Left tend to center on short-term, achievable goals, the Hippies' goals are long-term, far-reaching, and perhaps unachievable. Such is the stuff of revolution.

IT IS INDEED A REVOLUTION that the Hippies are preaching. Wherever they congregate (and they do tend to form loose social units, cities within a city, like Haight-Ashbury, the East Village, and the others), they assert their dissatisfaction with the order of things and their demand for a drastic change. But they do not seek their revolution by the ballot-box or by

violence. Their revolution is to be internal, within the individual. They are pietists in the tradition of American perfectionism.

For although there are some exceptions, the general charge made by the Left is correct. Hippies have played a relatively small role in the civil rights and peace movements. In part this may be due to a concern about their "image" in the minds of many of the political leaders. Does a peace candidate want his campaign to be run by boys with shoulder-length hair and a single earring? But the antagonism between the Hippie and the activist goes deeper than mere political strategy. The Hippie is in general simply not that interested.

HE IS NOT INTERESTED BECAUSE the revolution that he has in mind is to be far more significant than minor political changes. Men are to love one another. Thus the Be-In and the Love-In are exercises in the attainment of a new consciousness that will have consequences greater than those dreamed of by freedom marchers or Pentagon picketers. "Flower Power!" is the cry of this revolution, and it is meant seriously. When flowers are cast on tanks on Armed Forces Day or worn as a garland by Timothy Leary, they mean the same thing: flowers, which is to say that which is natural and beautiful, must be elevated to a position of power in the world. It is mankind's last hope in the face of modern civilized insanity, in the apocalyptic vision of the Hippie. Nothing less than that will do (there can be no compromise with perfection.)

The conflict between the pragmatic and utopian strains in American culture has almost been a preoccupation with American historians. Did the colonists come to America out of love of gold or love of God? Did the generation of 1776 revolt against "taxation without representation" or for the rights of man? Was the Civil War fought over the issue of states' rights or over the issue of slavery? Many of these questions can still stir debate today, and it is not surprising that they seem to appeal especially to the college generation which is faced with the choice of the Hippie or the Activist.

The Hippie has a long tradition in America to support his vision. But perhaps at no time until now was the choice so clear as in the mid-nineteenth century. William Lloyd Garrison set forth in the pages of his Liberator a fervent cry for immediate and total emancipation of the slaves. He was in conflict with men like James G. Birney, who sought to reform through the political action of the Liberty Party, and even Abraham Lincoln, who freed the slaves in the conquered territories largely out of purely military considerations.

Hawthorne cast all reforms into the fire, because reform was useless without the reform of the human heart. The colonists of the multitude of utopian colonies that were established in this period were determined to start anew. They did not seek political power, but sought to convert others by the power of their example.

The Hippies share with the utopians of American history a raging pietism that demands individual salvation. Like the Puritans, who were perhaps America's first utopians, the Hippies face the problem of displaying their salvation to the world. For, once saved, it is the duty of the neophyte to convert others by his example. Thus the Hippies mobilize in support of legalization of marijuana and LSD, because these are the means of his salvation. Not only will the availability of such "devotional aids" make it possible for the Hippie to live within the law (as a matter of fact the Hippie feels little obligation to abide by the laws of a corrupt and

immoral society), it will enable others to share the conversion experience. Meanwhile the literature describing Trips grows to a proportion not unlike that of the Puritan conversion narrative.

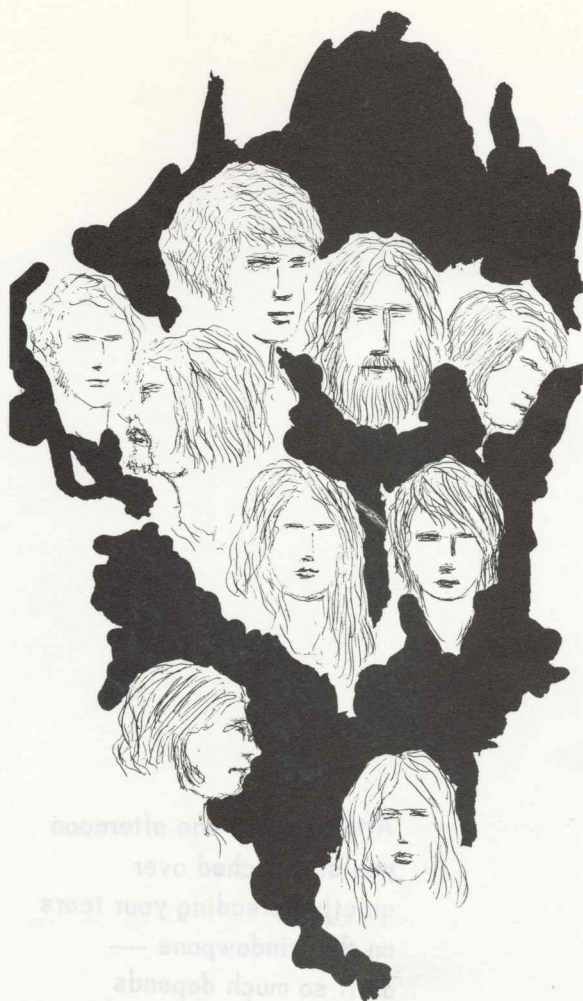
FOR THE TRIP OR AN experience with other drugs is very much a form of conversion and initiation. The religious paraphernalia of the Hippies is well-known, and there are even psychedelic churches with their own ecclesiastical structure including bishops. The drug experience is generally a mystic experience, involving the transcendence of reality of the Christian or Eastern mystic. Nor is it invalidated by the use of artificial devices such as drugs.

One recalls that camp meetings were often "prayed up" and one thinks of the religious images of the more liturgical churches. And, like the Christian conversion experience, the Trip is repeated as a constant assurance of one's state of grace as well as the possibility for further mystical experience.

Although there is a certain tendency for the Hippie to abandon his hope of converting the "straight" world, and there is already talk among some Hippies of plans for utopian communities, his ultimate obligation, like that of any pietist, remains the conversion of the world. When that is accomplished, the Kingdom of God, or the Flower Kingdom, will reign.

Is that a foolish hope? The Hippies don't think so, and they stand in good company with others who have asserted their need to withdraw from the corrupt world in order to be sure of their own salvation and that of the world. The Hippies have no intentions of following the lead of the Mormons and establishing a utopian kingdom in a barren land somewhere. Although the Hip-





pies (and their use of the drug experience) bring to mind the Romantics of the nineteenth century who used drugs to heighten their personal visions, the analogy is not very apt. For the Romantics were not likely to arrange such public functions as the Be-In. In addition to being fun for the participants (and the "straight" observers), the Be-Ins are ultimately serious. They are the Hippies' mode of communication with the other world of those who have not yet taken a Trip.

Faced with the prospect of a Technological Age that is frightening in its proportions (a recent trip to Boston's Prudential Center disclosed an "automatic wardrobe" and a totally mechanical "drive-in TV teller"), the Hippies react in many of the same ways as their predecessors did to the Machine Age: they seek to reassert human dignity and the worth of the human individual. They seek to totally revolutionize a society that is beyond reform. And they turn their attention to the place that Hawthorne told them must be the first reformed: the human heart.

FAR FROM ABANDONING SOCIETY, the Hippie believes that only he has the solution to the problems facing society. The "straight" world must be converted, and society totally reorganized on a new basis. Their Trips, far from being an escape from an unpleasant reality, are the means whereby man can transcend himself and thus have some hope of changing the world. The mystic knowledge of Love, normally acquired through a drug experience, is a necessary part of the search for a new Truth.

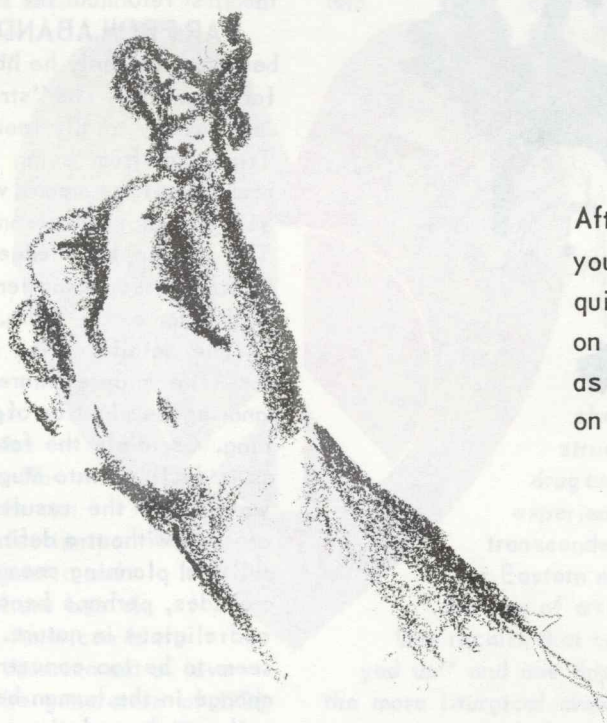
The details of the new society are hardly worked out. The Hippie shares the perfectionist's habit of ignoring the minutiae of political organization and planning. Certainly the fate of the Abolitionist movement as it declined into Mugwumpery after the Civil War is warning of the results of a political and religious crusade without a definite program. But the distaste for political planning seems to be a characteristic of most crusades, perhaps because they are largely emotional and religious in nature. In any case, the Hippies do not seem to be too concerned. They are convinced that a change in the human heart will accomplish a political and social revolution which will produce its own solution with time.

Hawthorne, in The Blithedale Romance, drawing on his experiences at Brook Farm, spoke of "our beautiful scheme of a noble and unselfish life" which many of the colonists of the community hoped "might endure for generations, and be perfected." The dream of a better world does not die easily. The Hippies are only the most recent of American utopians to seek such a world. As such they are under attack by the pragmatists of today. It is not certain whether the Hippies will go the way of the Fourierists or whether acid trips will one day seem as foolish as graham bread. For the moment they have the conviction of the True Believer that a better world is still possible, indeed, imminent.

Robert Martin is an English Professor at Loyola College, Montreal.

TRILOGY ...

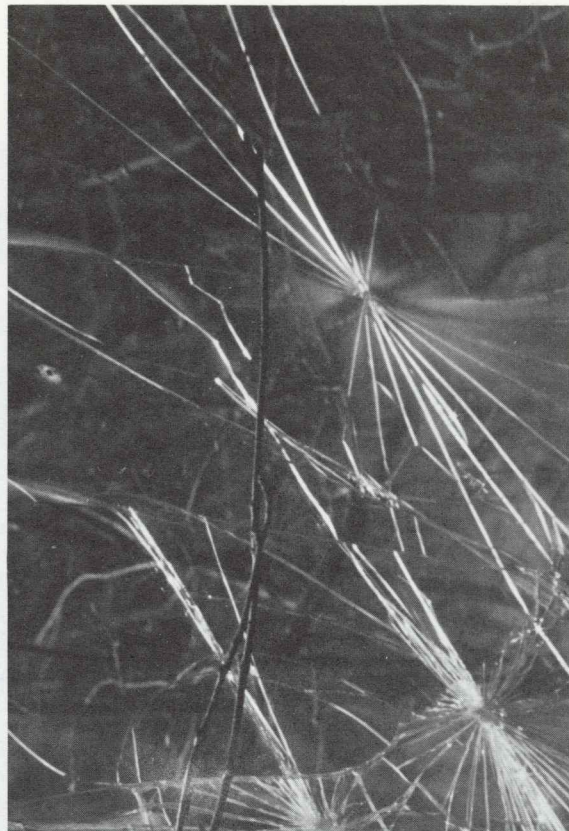
I have heard the enchanting laughter
of two rivers meeting
and knowing
what the seas have not told men.



After a storm one afternoon
you sit hunched over
quietly spreading your tears
on the windowpane --
as if so much depends
on the way the rainbow ends.

When giddy children come
puddling the world with their own miracles;
when skies are full
of sun-washed roofs and silvered steeples;
in a flicker of fever
suddenly
you are mad
with the smallest swell of spring.

sara pettigrew



I must touch you
or you might never know it:
Atlantis was to rise today.
You nudge me wisely with a smile
“I understand but,”
moving a hand as if to erase
“the riots every day, the war,
and here at home....”

I interrupt to say
I’ve heard one can read The Cardinal
another, The Rabbi, side by side on a bus.
You shrug;
still, I guess that while you shift
impassively to other loves, this
I’ll never blame: our crossing paths
when Atlantis was to rise.

eve havelka



MURRAY BARON

LETTER FROM WARD'S CAMP

This morning at six by the tap on the water tank
the cold water made my teeth ache. I poked
with a stick to knock the ice from Burk's pail.
He wolfed the candy chips, his tail cranking.

I rummaged for eggs in the cook tent, the great cook
drunk in his cot of crumpled newspapers.
A board squeaked. "What the hell do you want, mister!"
So dramatic. Mount McKinley is just that close.

Again this morning clouds are fish meat
on be careful china. Again cranes wheel,
point south, then spiral up high and crying
over Rex Dome sticking up south like a barrel.

Aspen are the color they were at Parker's.
Pat says hi. Burk is flushing spotted snow birds
like a pile of rags. This time of cranes and Burk,
the wind at night and wolves, the helicopters,

the hero pilots with banana hands,
the horny, crumpled cook I'll store away—
The hard lines of birch defining rivers,
the hard statement this morning in Burk's pail.

Darling, please write! At the water tap my mouth
froze on a coast beyond the last ship north
where men make homes of driftwood, and children of the wind
play through arcs of whalebones sticking up stiff.

david mcelroy
alaska, 1969

LEVESQUE

I think nationalism and political independence are stages through which all people of coherence have to go I think nationalism and political independence are stages through which all people of coherence have to go I think nationalism and independence are stages through which all people of coherence have to go I think nationalism and independence are stages through which all people of coherence have to go I think nationalism and inde-

GAMUT takes a look at the suave and political René Lévesque and his philosophy.





GAMUT — What does separatism mean? Is the cultural reason for independence the main reason, or are the social and economic aspects of independence just as important?

LEVESQUE — Cultural reasons, in other words existence as a cultural group for French-Canadians in Quebec, are very vital. And they are related very directly to sovereignty, call it political independence, they are the same thing. But there is also the question of development; it's very important for a group to live, to be sure that it is going to live. The group must become something worthwhile. In other words, once you are sure you're going to live culturally, you should progress as much, develop as much, as comparable groups.

You must develop in such a way that your existence is not always second class. No one is going to afford equal chances for development for a minority as for a majority, as long as we have that relationship of a minority to a majority. No one is going to parachute out of Ottawa, for instance, as much development into Quebec as into the other provinces — except when they are very nervous and feel they have to keep Quebec quiet.

Quebec has had to wake up and become mad every 10 years to put pressure on the rest of the country. Instead of getting our own development, as an independent nation, we will always be lagging; and unfortunately, we are in this third part of the 20th century when development has to go fast. You can't wait 50 years as you used to be able to do in the 1860's. Everything is going to be faster than ever before and will probably continue accelerating in all fields. Hence my conviction, we need independence for Quebec, as a cultural guarantee for security. Once and for all, we'll be masters in our own home politically. This would not mean a 'China wall' around Quebec. It would mean free co-operation with other peoples; but we would be our own bosses in our own part, and this, all self-respecting people want.

For instance, among modern societies, the French nation in Quebec is about the only one that does

not control all its tax revenue. We are basically one nation, of French-Canadians, and we should control these revenues.

GAMUT — In *Option Québec*, you wrote that an individual has to find strength in the culture from which he 'stems'. Marcel Faribault touched on that last year when he said that this feeling of having to gain security was more of a closing yourself in.

LEVESQUE — Well, Mr. Faribault is all wet, and politically, he is a dodo. He is the sort of antique that deserved



the political farce he got in the federal election last June. He may be a good business man, but that's about it. I'd rather have something to do with Trudeau, whose very brutal and clear attitude is 'Let's be masters all over Canada'. Faribault's concept was a mixture of so many things, the so-called 'statut particulier' — and he backed down from that. The whole election was a very good illustration of the silly, half-and-half and one-quarter of this and one-quarter of that quality of the Faribault attitude.

This is a good indication that Faribault is out of political business for awhile. But it is very clear we

have to oppose Trudeau unless he changes his mind. He is an absolute catastrophe for Quebec, but at least in his case, he is and was absolutely frank, and we know where we stand. As for this opposition between the individual and the group — if, in your values, you think the man is more important than the nation or the society from which he comes and in which he lives, then in a sort of pseudo-advanced way, you could say "Well let's forget this business of cultural groups and independence for Quebec and merge together". Well, that is all very well as a majority attitude. If you're English, you can say "Well, what the hell; what's this problem".

Yes, for any civilized man, the individual is important. But, on the other hand, the group remains very important for the individual. In other words, can you have a man champion in anything, if his group, his society, his language, is considered second-class? Never! The situation is similar to a regiment in wartime. The man is important, the regiment is just a collection of men; and the man's life is important. If the regiment has bad men, bad morale, bad officers, who is going to suffer? The men! So, the group has a hell of a lot of importance for the health and the possibilities of the men that make up that group.

To come back to our problem. The Quebec French as a nation must become more sure of themselves and take over their own responsibilities and self-government. They have to stop begging and pressuring for rights, which other people call privileges.

GAMUT — What economic rights would Quebec have in a commonwealth?

LEVESQUE — We would have to negotiate a system where there would be no borders for economics and a uniform complementary union, in other words, the same monetary policy with the same monetary unit. This is, more or less, the concept that is receiving widespread appeal in Europe. But those are only basic changes; apart for these you also need arrangements for the seaway, for transportation, for air rights and air-planes, things like that; but that's all part of the civilized world today. Other countries can do it; we can do it too.

GAMUT — Well, what about the English fear of complete unilingualism, complete loss of rights because they have become not only second class,



but second order?

LEVESQUE — I don't want to be naive: there have been a hell of a lot of bitter lessons in Canada's first 100 years. It's all very nice to work like hell and try and keep minority rights, because I think that's necessary, if we want to respect ourselves in any kind of change in Quebec. But I think you have to admit, if you read back in the history of Canada, our own minorities were given hell outside the province and the bitter memory still remains. Those you call radicals, are in many cases, the younger people of Quebec who adhere to the Biblical reasoning, 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth' and 'Well, why don't we give them the same goddamn business they gave to our minorities?' I don't agree with them.

A lot of understanding will have to be shown by the English-speaking minority in Quebec too. People, often enough, in Montreal have made their lives with such a contemptuous attitude to the French-Canadian majority around them; they don't know one bloody word of our language, and they act as whites in Rhodesia. I have used that similitude a couple of times - I know it makes people mad - but Jesus Christ, that is a fact. You have a bunch of know-nothings in Westmount or Hampstead or where-have-you in their sixties: they have had successful careers, "making money from the natives", but do not know a bloody word of our language, Well, this attitude does not help either.

GAMUT — Once independence is a 'fait accompli' how will you really integrate the masses into political action?

LEVESQUE — Participation is still such an awkward, a very uncertain kind of notion. So it has to be developed by stages; for instance, in business, in any kind of business enterprise you have the union-management tradition: negotiation, strike, settlement. In other words, before you go from the traditional non-participation in business, in everything economic, to participation, you're going to have to change a lot of things, including the union itself, and their traditional attitude. I think we'll get to it but it will have to be by stages. The same applies to the universities - students challenging the administration - and in many ways they are right. The old university has become a factory; there is too much

of that old authority and not enough student presence on decision formulating bodies. On the other hand, how the hell are you going to manage this kind of congestion, this joint management, at the university level and yet maintain some discipline which must be there if it is to become more than just a continual happening. Now how does one keep liberty and authority in perspective so you don't break down universities and tear them to pieces? The student criticism is a very valuable one, a very violent criticism of universities as they are. I haven't seen very many propose the university as it should be. It is all very nice to tear things apart but what are you going to put in its place?

GAMUT — How does nationalism fit into your perspective of the present and the future?

LEVESQUE — I think nationalism, including political independence, is a stage that all people of coherence have to go through; they have to live it. Perhaps in 20 or 25 years nationalism will be in many ways passé, dépassé in the traditional sense; but every people that calls itself a nation has to go through specific stages, up

to and including self-government. Maybe by the year 2000 the world will look so different that we of today will look like primitives. But you cannot start making the world of the future if you do not go through the stages today. And one inevitable stage for the French Quebec group is to go through its period of self-government.

GAMUT — At the universities currently, the problem is one of apathy. Maybe a mere 35% of society are doing things and this seems to be one of its problems. How many people do you think would get involved in this new Quebec?

LEVESQUE — Apathy is not new. It's always been the same throughout history. To effect any basic change in a society you always start with a minority, a very small minority. If you are dedicated enough and that minority proves its loyalty and proves that it can grow because it becomes convincing, it will take 'X' number of years - four or five in our case - before we become strong enough to be considered a determining factor in Quebec. The majority eventually tags along when it sees the permanence and the growth of that minority.



Le Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire (M.I.S. was founded April 1, 1968, by a group of 50 citizens in the Montreal suburb of St.-Léonard-de-Port-Maurice. That night, Raymond Lemieux, who, ironically, speaks English more fluently than he does French, was elected leader of the new French-language group. Today, the M.I.S. has some 6,000 members spread across Quebec. Gamut interviewed Lemieux last month at the St. Michel headquarters of the M.I.S. Below, and on pages 16 and 27, are excerpts from that interview.

"The only aim, the single aim, of the M.I.S. is to assure the survival of French as a language and as a culture in Quebec through the public school system.... English should be taught as a second language".

"Whether Quebec remains part of Canada or not, the problems of language and culture still remain".

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GAMUT - How do neo-Canadians fit into the Quebec of today and will their rights be different in an independent Quebec?

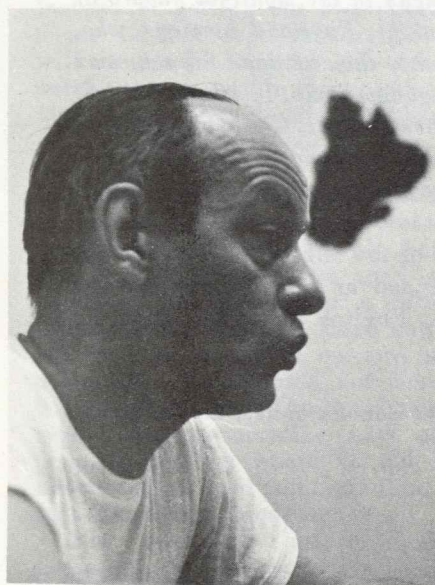
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LEVESQUE - As for people who are not here now but will be immigrating to Quebec, we have the absolute right to support French-only schools as long as sufficient advance notice is given. Potential immigrants can be told that the only tax-supported schools will be French. This concept is not an unrealistic one: any country with self-respect does discriminate in favor of its own culture, when it comes to immigration. No one has rights before he comes in. The rights of people already settled here, whatever their choices have been, will be respected, but there are no rights for people who have not immigrated yet and they should be told that as soon as possible, that the only available public schools will be in a French-language system. This doesn't mean French schools wouldn't teach English as a second language of course.

GAMUT - And do you see no hope for French-Canadians outside of Quebec?

LEVESQUE - None, except maybe in New Brunswick. As a cultural group, the Acadians in New Brunswick do have a chance for survival but this would depend on our treatment of the English minority in Quebec. But nowhere else in Canada - especially if you look behind the figures because many people have French names but they've stopped speaking French - do you have even a 4% concentration of French-speaking people. They have,



by the thousands, drifted into English: it's a normal thing. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is a sad joke. The younger people at the high school and college levels of the French minorities outside Quebec (except in New Brunswick again) live in - well, it's decided, they have to live in - English, period! The only other way they can keep using French in a somewhat useful way is by coming to Quebec.

GAMUT - What would happen to foreign control of Quebec industry and resources?

LEVESQUE - I think we can change the economic activity over the next 20-25 years if we have the political control. It's unfortunate the federal government has done nothing for years; they just drift economically, they've talked big but they have done nothing. Even Trudeau is an old-line conservative in this field. We can use political power in a more determined way by building either public or mixed enterprises. But you cannot do that in six weeks or six months.

GAMUT - With the election of Trudeau, the heavy liberal score in Quebec and the high number of Quebec ministers in the Cabinet, do you feel

"Canada is not a bilingual country; it never has been, nor will it ever be. Quebec has always been bilingual in the sense that the majority has had to learn the language of the minority. This is definitely not normal."

"I would never say that it is wrong or that it is harmful for an individual to learn more than one language. It's possible for one to learn a second language, but as a *second* language."

"(That the French have had to use the language of the minority) is basically the fault of the arrogance of that minority, which is a very powerful one... This strength the minority possesses influences the government in Quebec, against the wishes of the majority, through financial pressure and the like".

"When you speak of separatism in Quebec, this is separatism: setting up two distinct school systems.... If you send kids off to separate school systems because their language is not the same, they certainly will not get along in society later".

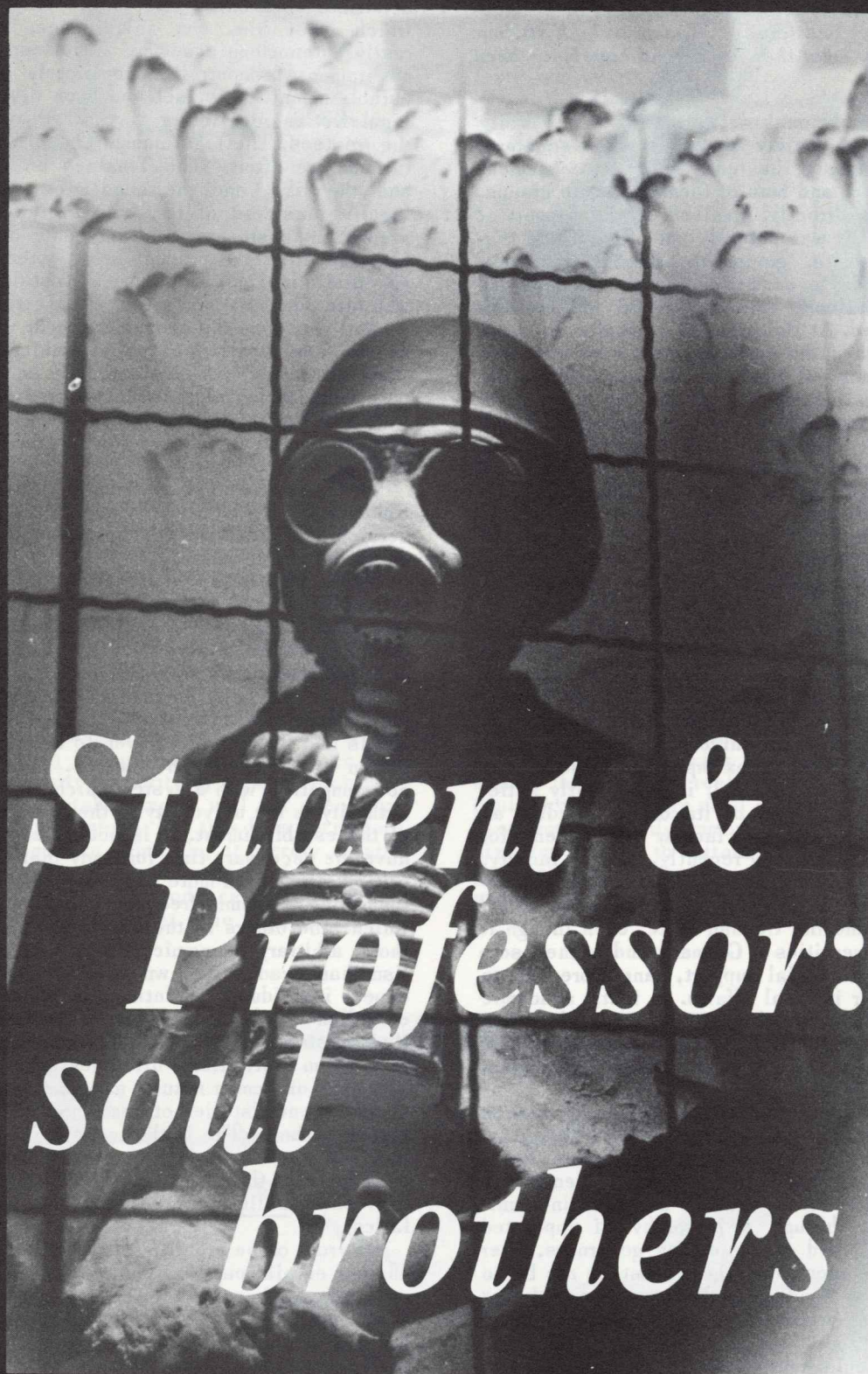
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that this idea of federalism has finally proved itself?

LEVESQUE - As far as what the government will do, I have no illusions whatsoever. One sad thing is that the English population, especially the English Establishment in Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, the English-press and English television and radio did an incredibly good job of selling Trudeau as an image. Nobody could care less for what he stood for, in fact nobody asked him. All they wanted was a tame Quebecois that they could sell. It's a bit sad, because you've had three of a kind, Laurier, St. Laurent and now Trudeau. I hope to God the third one is the last one. For a great many people he was sold under a high pressure campaign involving a hell of a lot of money and the great big illusion among English-speaking people, maybe mostly in Montreal, that once they had another Laurier, another St. Laurent, Quebec would quiet down and that would be the end of that. I think they are heading for a fall; we'll see that in the next couple of years.

GAMUT - Do you believe in the actual forms of democracy and immediately after independence are you
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*Student &
Professor:
soul
brothers*

A Princeton Ph. D. at 26, James Ijoe seems perfectly qualified to make some astute observations about the so-called student-power and faculty-power phenomena. In the following article he proposes a different analysis of the current situation in the academic community and levels criticism at both student and professor for what they have - and have not - been doing about it.

The most traditional definition of a university describes it as a society of teachers and scholars; a society composed basically of two component groups, not three, and both of them academic groups, i.e. themselves directly involved in the pursuit of knowledge. And it was actually out of unions of teachers and students, groups to which the closest parallels on today's campuses are the student and faculty associations, that mediaeval universities were first formed. At Bologna, for example, the university began when the students who were attracted there by the number of good teachers available in the area formed an association to protect themselves from economic exploitation by the towns-people and teachers. The teachers had to respond with their own union, and to insure its exclusiveness they invented examinations and degrees. These two societies constituted the university, and the authorities of the larger society in which it flourished recognized and protected its autonomy.

This complete academic autonomy did not last long, however. Nor could it have been expected to last. For universities inevitably became financially dependent on society more and more, and some interference by society to protect its financial interests naturally followed. But such interference can coexist with a respect for the sovereignty of academics in the internal affairs of the university. Such has traditionally been the case, for example, in Germany. The German university is no ideal; it is currently suffering from many problems of its own, including an imbalance of power between faculty and student (for it was governed, until very recently, only by faculty, who elected the rectors annually from their own number.) But at least the German university is governed by academics, and the German state, even though it owns all the universities in Germany and is their sole major source of financial support, cannot presume to interfere in their internal affairs. In fact, academic freedom of speech (though not, of course, of action) continued in Germany even throughout the Nazi regime, as I was surprised to hear from my colleagues there.

This contrasts sharply with the extreme situation which has prevailed in North America for so long that many of us accept it as natural and inevitable. Here, the internal structures of the universities themselves have been so constituted that all authority in a university derives through a hierarchy of appointed officers from a board of trustees or governors, after the model of a corporation. These trustees are by no means necessarily academics; they are almost always either Church authorities, or appointees of the state, or leaders of the business world - in short, representatives of the social establishment as such. Nor can their appointed representatives, the so-called "administrators", be legitimately classified as academics,

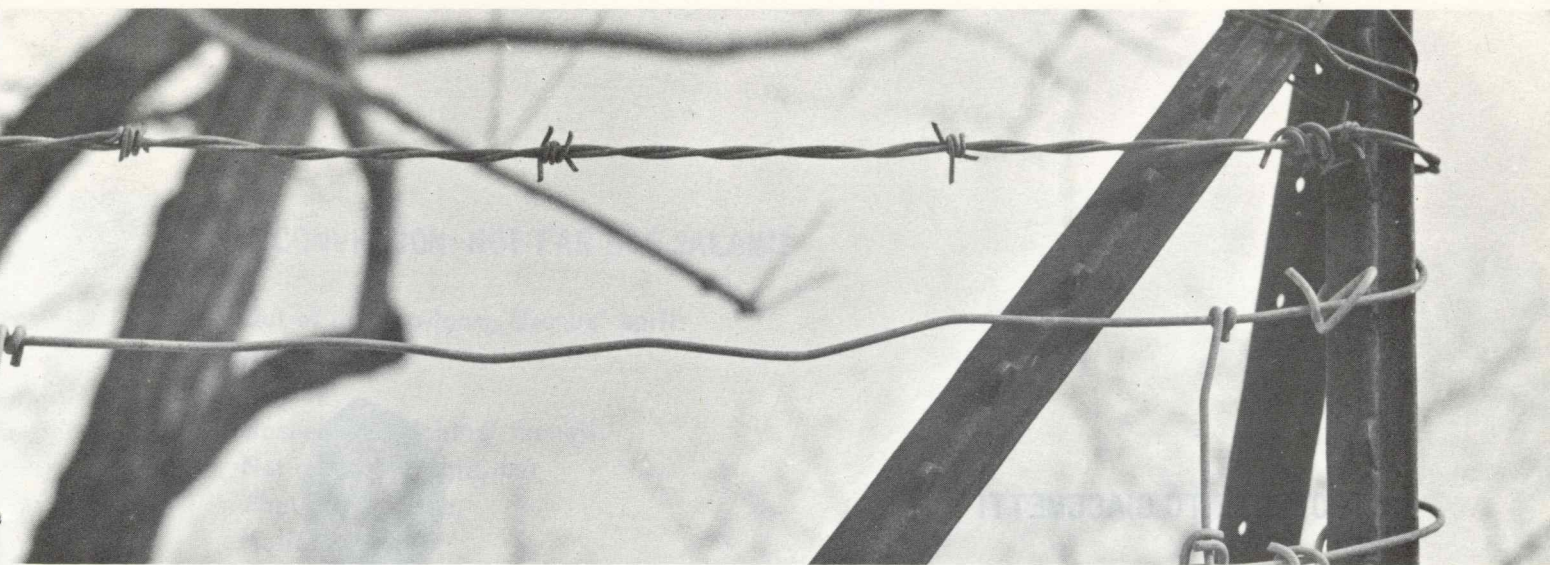
even though they are usually former academics. Originally, the predecessors of such officers were the authorities of the student and faculty associations, but the modern dean is responsible not to the academic community, but to the external authority which hires him. Our universities, then, are not really autonomous academic societies; their internal government is controlled completely by the social establishment. This fact has been disguised by the legal fiction identifying the university itself with the trustees. The legal names of the chartered institutions are often "The Trustees of X University" and the like, and the academics themselves are legally outsiders of the 'university'. Students are viewed as customers who may only opt whether to buy, the price and product being determined by the administration; and professors are outside individuals who hire out their labors to the 'university'.

And yet, once the absurd argument which depends on the equivocation of policy-making and clerical "administration" is eliminated, it is clear that the only contribution of the trustees and their administrators to the academic community is financial. Since we need society's money, we are told, we must accept their paternal tutelage.

So North America has made a mockery of the tradition of academic autonomy to which it pays lip-service and has endangered the university's functions of criticism and reform.

These functions of a university are crucial in any rationally ordered society. For only in the university can some members of a society stand aside from its actual operation to study and reflect upon the ideals and traditions on which it is based and the situations which prevail in it in reality. Such study will and should lead to a scrutinizing comparison between the ideals and the facts and even to a critical re-examination of the ideals themselves. This is obviously not compatible with a system which gives the internal authority in the university to the very representatives of the establishment. It is not merely because they have the necessary time for study that academics can criticize, but even more importantly because they are (assuming academic freedom) free from the sanctions which bind others to the established order, such as those arbitrary economic powers with which capitalism has evaded its own ideal of free speech. To expect individuals so intimately identified with the established order as are university trustees and their "administrators" to tolerate consistently such criticism in an institution which they govern is too great a demand on human nature, and one need only glance at the recent histories of such institutions as Berkeley, St. John's, The Catholic University of America, etc. and the long list of censured administrations in each issue of the American Association of University Professors Bulletin to know that this experiment has failed.

The root of the problem is the dogma that financial support entails paternal control. One need not dwell on such hackneyed themes as the doctor-patient relationship to prove that this is not necessarily true; we have already seen a counterexample from such an unlikely source as Nazi Germany, and we could find many more in the free world. But we need not even seek out such foreign counterexamples; for there is



now ample evidence to disprove the dogma right here in Canada.

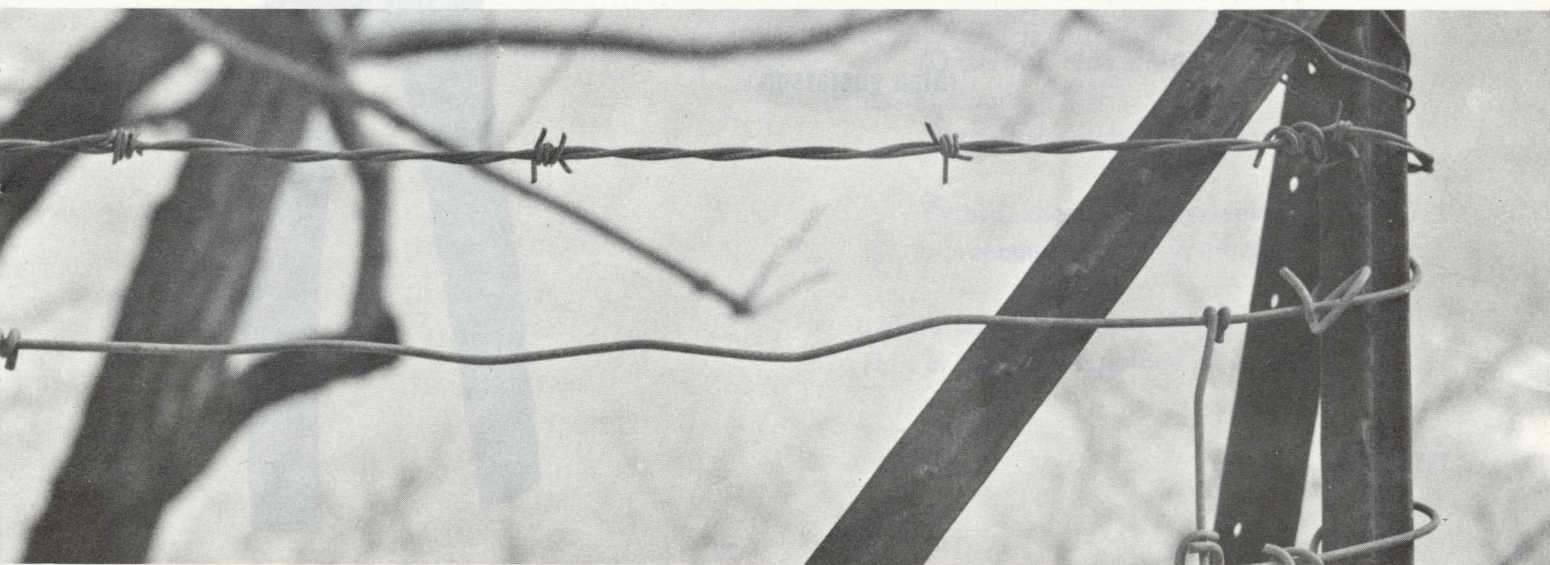
The major financial source for Canadian universities today is the provincial government, not the boards of trustees or those whom they represent. The government, however, while exerting pressure on the universities in some matters, does respect their autonomy. The pressure is exercised from outside, not inside the university, and only in matters affecting the public domain. But if the provinces can assume financial responsibility without internal control, then the development of governmental finance has provided the precedent necessary to shatter the dogma that financial support entails internal control. Of course, the government's respect for university autonomy may stem in part from its confidence that the present university authorities, themselves representatives of the establishment, will not encourage radical criticism and reform. But this does not restore the financial dogma in principle, it merely entails that any movement for academic control of the universities will have to exercise prudence in its relations with the provincial government. The dogma, at least

as a dogma, is no longer tenable.

Moreover, the governmental support of universities has undermined the trustees' claim to authority even if the dogma is still assumed. For the trustees are no longer the financial foundation of the institutions they are governing. In the present situation, their sacrosanct "property rights" are, like the inherited privileges of a decadent feudal aristocracy whose erstwhile positive contributions have been more than justly recompensed, the remnants of an obsolete social hierarchy.

Faculty efforts to improve the situation were under way long before the currently expanding student movement. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP), when it was founded in the first half of this century, realized that academic freedom could never be secure until academic sovereignty had been won. The only immediate goals which the organization hoped to attain in practice were more professional salaries for professors and some partial guarantees of academic freedom through policies

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FOOTNOTE TO GIACOMETTI

Dozens of them,
Erasures of theme.
The wobbling pivot.

Stakes in the ground
Or dive overboard:
Muddled wood
Or broken turquoise:
The spatial instant,
Passion goes with,
This biped all
Moves with:

Junked rind the wave;
Bread, ceremony:
She with her culling hands,
Green pods.

These figures of Giacometti
Rooted in their foot
Occupy too little space.

ralph gustafson



A CONVICTION: NOT FAR OFF SALAMIS

Out of the sea-foam, Uranus' spill:
Aphrodite,
Ankles
Washed by dolphins' turmoil.
Not of marble, this, but
What the gods do,
Helios
His burning team
Behind the stabled hill:
Leda
Lovely with that occupation;
Encumbered Zeus;
Orithyia in the wind;
Pitys
Fucked by that country shag,
To snowbent fir-tree
Not yet changed.

AESTHETICS AT DELPHI

Her stray dress
and sea-blue eyes
askance
(O Corinth-blue waters)
her legs bare
crotch for a fish-smelling youth

Pythia, chewer of bay-leaves!
a propoundment for you here

a disturber from nearby Krioseos
This at the meeting-place of eagles

ralph gustafson



SKYER



tom paskal

SKYLER

The small hand and thin
wrist holding the flame
burn hook from line,

intent.

At last,
I've caught you, drawn to a point
and not

a flame at mid-day, daysun,
so distracting with your light we see
only the other, the

Creation. Night

cornered by these logs beyond
the reach of lamplight swells,
like history, colossal dark.

An instant.

Birdman, in some far
place, crouched above your fire
you burn

small and solid
against solid night:

a boy bent on his work beneath
adzed beams, the deer-head on the wall,
old fishing hat.

In summer, late.

d. g. jones

A black and white photograph of a body of water, possibly a lake or a wide river. In the foreground, there are numerous tall, thin reeds or grasses that are slightly out of focus, creating a sense of depth. The water is calm, reflecting the light. In the background, there are rolling hills or mountains under a soft, overcast sky. The overall mood is serene and contemplative.

SUMMER ISLAND

Though there are boats not far
and figures
for an afternoon on water

every reed
streams from the shallows far
from the other

wind
draws smoke out of our mouths

you are a girl
animal on rock and
another

among juniper and dry
needles of the pine

islands in the wind

a wind
that out of China and another time
streams among these islands

sighing in the pine

d. g. jones

“... IF YOU'RE ENGLISH YOU CAN SAY WHAT THE HELL, WHAT'S THIS PROBLEM.”

LEVESQUE

continued from page 16

going to maintain strict control of activities in Quebec?

LEVESQUE — When any independence movement comes to a head, for six months, a year, control is needed and naturally the government has to impose some regulations that are abnormal. The same applies in any country with internal troubles. England is under more restrictions now that Quebec could ever be subject to, because England is in a period of financial crisis.

England is sick and being sick requires more control, more taxes than ever imagined. So any country that has important serious troubles has to clamp on controls once and awhile.

GAMUT — Do you think actual democracy is a valuable system?

LEVESQUE — No, democracy right now is more a word than a reality. We do have an acceptable form of political democracy, but ... for one thing, and we've been fighting that for awhile in Quebec. On the federal level there is the Barbeau Report which has been gathering dust for two years. We should at least clean up the political part of democracy by requiring the parties to publish accounts of their income and expenditures in detail. They are the only type of enterprise in our society that don't publish such reports for Christ's sake. Parties are the most important of all organizations: they can take over government, they can decide about laws and taxes; but nobody calls for reports from them. Even charitable organizations have to publish finan-

cial reports. Socially and economically then we do not have democracy, and that we have to work at. Democracy that means only voting means nothing.

GAMUT — If pacifism doesn't bring results, do you believe it will be necessary to adopt a certain kind of violence?

LEVESQUE — No. I think one should not resort to violence until violence is imposed. In other words, as long as you do a democratic job of trying to convince people, and as long as nobody - in this case the federal government - stops you from doing that, there is no justification for violence. If we were ever stopped from doing a democratic job by external force, then it would be a different thing.

GAMUT — What kind of a society do you want to build, socialistic or what?

LEVESQUE — Capitalism, socialism, co-operatism, they are all broad terms and they change continually. You have to evaluate the terms by looking at Quebec as it is. Quebec's is mostly a poor population and they're called French-Canadians; there is a rich minority that is English-speaking, but more and more they are losing ownership control. They are branch managers for the Americans. And out of that, how can we see the future? Well, obviously, we need state intervention, which means that we'll have a good dose of what you call socialism. If we wait for French-Canadian millionaires to come out - they are all more or less insignificant anyway - it would take too long. So we need much government intervention economically,

which means, up to a point, democratic socialism. It does not mean we have to start scrapping this, that, and the other thing..., and American interest. We need American capital, so why shouldn't we respect it? There are lots of things to build and we don't have to take away what they have already built, as long as they respect us. This might require legislation, but Americans can accept legislation on their investment if it doesn't prevent that investment from flourishing.

Now, co-operatives are an extremely important field that we have to develop as powerfully as we can. This is an economic sector where people can participate. And in the financial field, for example, the Caisses Populaires, there has already been a very big development. But there is very minimal development in the production and commercial sectors. They are still very weak. For instance, the Magasin Co-Operatif is still very weak because it has not hit the Montreal market, the biggest in Quebec.

GAMUT — After seven or eight years, do you think the English Canadians will be able to integrate themselves easily into the Quebecois milieu?

LEVESQUE — My aim is that the English-speaking minority in Quebec be, as you say, integrated. Integrated doesn't necessarily mean assimilated, because they can remain what they are, they can keep their basic rights. Integrated means that upward social mobility in Quebec will require a working knowledge of French. Right now the tradition is that if you want to go up in the world, you'll have to learn the minority language; other-



wise, you stay where you are, in most fields anyway. This should be reversed; it will take at least a generation though. And once this is done, integration will come in a much more natural way; it will be the thing 'to do', to learn and to use French. This does not mean you cannot remain an English-speaking citizen.

GAMUT — Do you think it is possible to overcome the fear of 'rocking the boat' that is, will this concept of presenting a whole new society scare many, many people?

LEVESQUE — One way or another, you will always have people that are scared of any change. In this case, we will scare a lot of people and many of them will feel the need to escape. That's too bad but as long as our actions are done in a civilized way you can do nothing about nervous wrecks. They had better get out.

GAMUT — What would be your foreign policy towards the United States and France?

LEVESQUE — Well, you can't figure out a foreign policy with regards to just two nations, but obviously the U.S. and France would be the two most important clients of any kind of Quebec foreign policy. Basically we should opt out of any kind of military alliance: more specifically, NATO and NORAD; we can't afford them for one thing and for another, they are silly. Secondly, we should get out of the British Commonwealth and enter some French-Commonwealth. It is just as normal for us to be in a French-Commonwealth as for English Canada to be in an English Commonwealth. At the United Nations - or anywhere - we should adopt a role more or less comparable to Ireland or Sweden. In other words, that of a small power, a non-power, the role of a small country always aiming for peace, and if possible mediating in negotiations between big power blocks, helping the UN to cover more and more responsibilities for mankind.

GAMUT — Would Quebec need a military organization?

LEVESQUE — One thing is for sure, we would need some sort of transitional military organization. We must recuperate the Royal 22nd, probably a few squadrons, that is, what's left of the Collège Militaire de St.-Jean, Bagotville, St.-Hubert, Val-Cartier. So, for a transition pe-

riod, we would need modest, very small, but very real, military forces, the whole idea being that we could keep it down to such a size that it could be used for peace keeping operations.

GAMUT — What type of discussions would transpire between Canada and Quebec regarding foreign policy specifically once Quebec had achieved independence?

LEVESQUE — Two countries as neighbors can have - and I think it's mere common sense - joint economic policies with mutual advantages. In other words, the basic reason for

What if things don't proceed rapidly enough, what will you do if there are some serious delays?

LEVESQUE — We would just keep on going, that's all. We have made a projection of how we think things will move. You try to calculate as best you can. According to our calculations, if we do a good job - and that's a big IF - but if we do a good job politically, we should be the official opposition in Quebec inside of two elections. This means normally anywhere between four to six years from now.

GAMUT — With the election of Tru-

continued from page 16



"I think the M.I.S. objective of having all children from all ethnic origins going to the same school is the exact opposite of racism".

"...the M.I.S. does not have political aspirations as a party. This question of the future of Quebec, of the future of the culture and language of Quebec, is over and above party politics. The interests of political parties as a whole are not the same as the interests of the nation as a whole".

"...the M.I.S. is a group of citizens, many of them having no experience in this type of organization, but citizens who are willing to work and do things. Think this is what is new with movements such as the M.I.S., that for once citizens have tried to take things into their own hands, seeing the authorities are neglecting their best interests".

an economic association on Quebec's part is that it would help us over the transition period; it would help us get off our feet without too many problems. It's also a trend of the future, it seems, so why not start on the right foot. As far as Ontario especially and the rest of Canada are concerned, they can keep their market in Quebec. If they do lose it, they are finished economically. But Quebec and Canada could have differing foreign policies and quite a few other differences in fact. Everything doesn't have to be merged.

GAMUT — You have said that in 1973 you would be the official opposition.

deau, do you think that English Canada has thrown in its last card?

LEVESQUE — He is just another card in a political situation and that's the way it comes out. He could die six months from now - as we all can - and they will find someone else. Basically, what is happening is a change in society, and Mr. Trudeau is a more or less superficial, as I am, a superficial and very mortal expression of that change. The change will go on with or without Mr. Trudeau, with or without myself, with or without anyone else. As one man once told me, the cemetery is full of irreplaceable people, and the world goes on. Fin



this
preparation
contains
no
scheduled
poison

photo essay by John Max



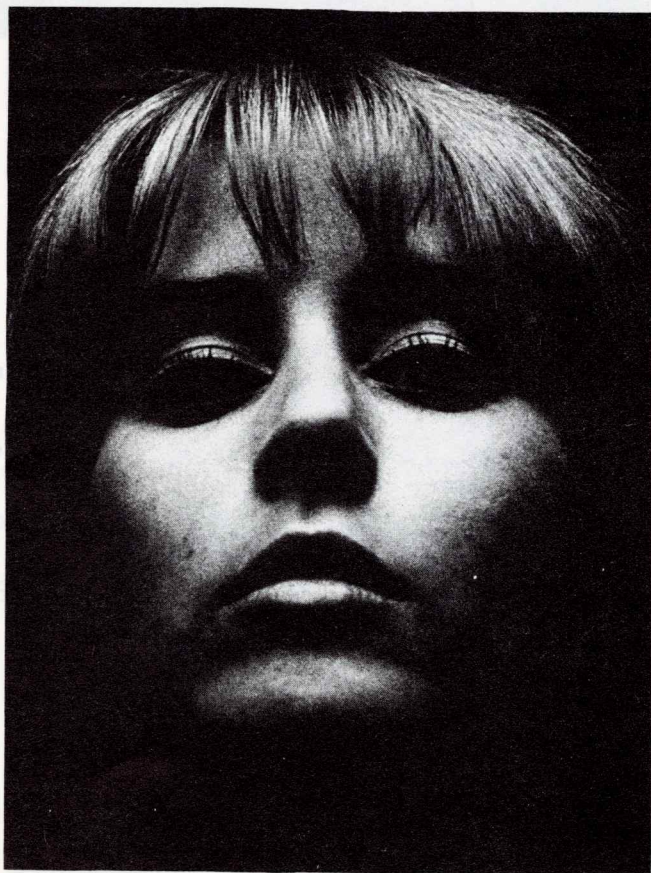
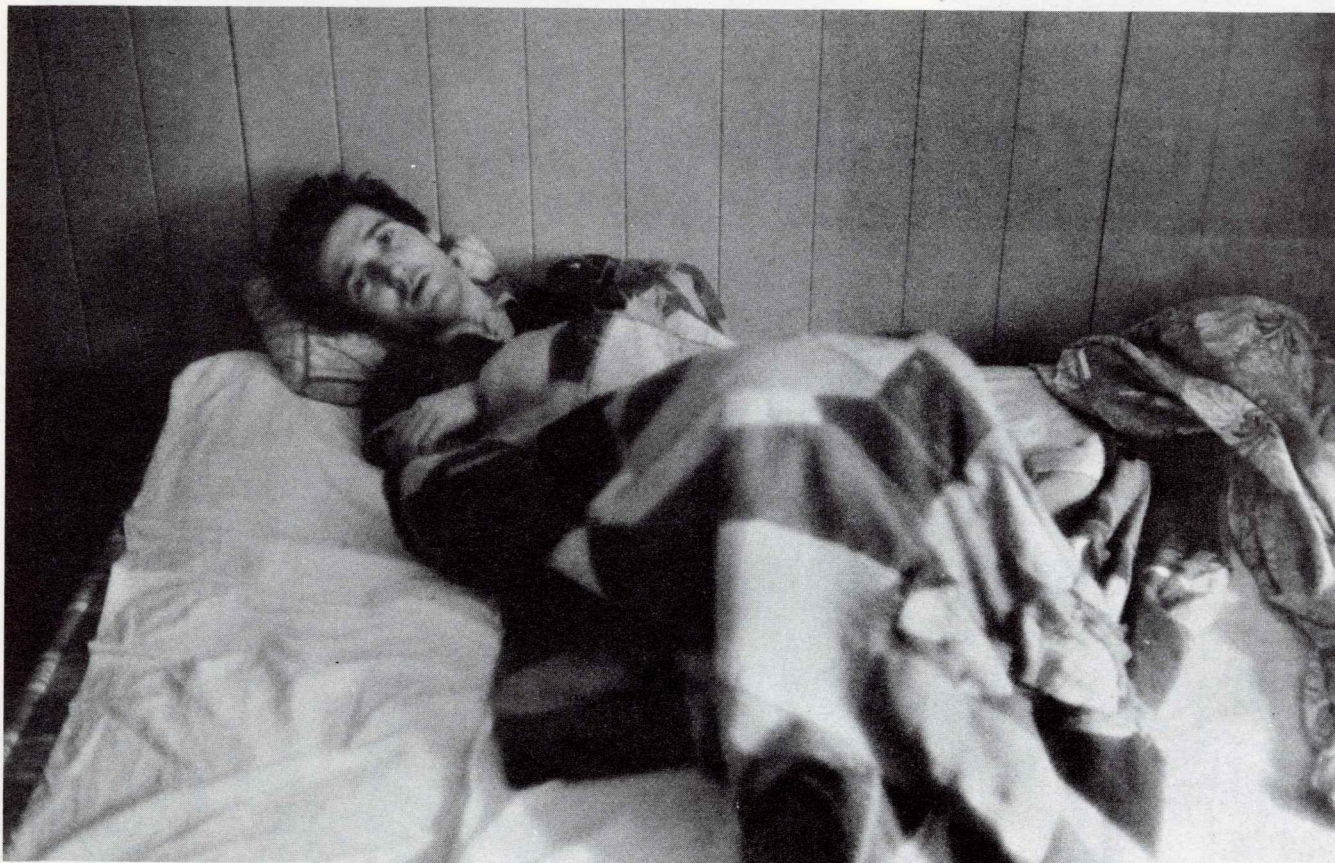
in deadly combat of
destructive copulation.

in deadly combat of
destructive copulation.

locked in
in holy
battle deadlock

a mouse has just died in
my piano. i believe she
entered there to give
birth
but was killed instead by
the hammer strokes.





...and then they invented
a God

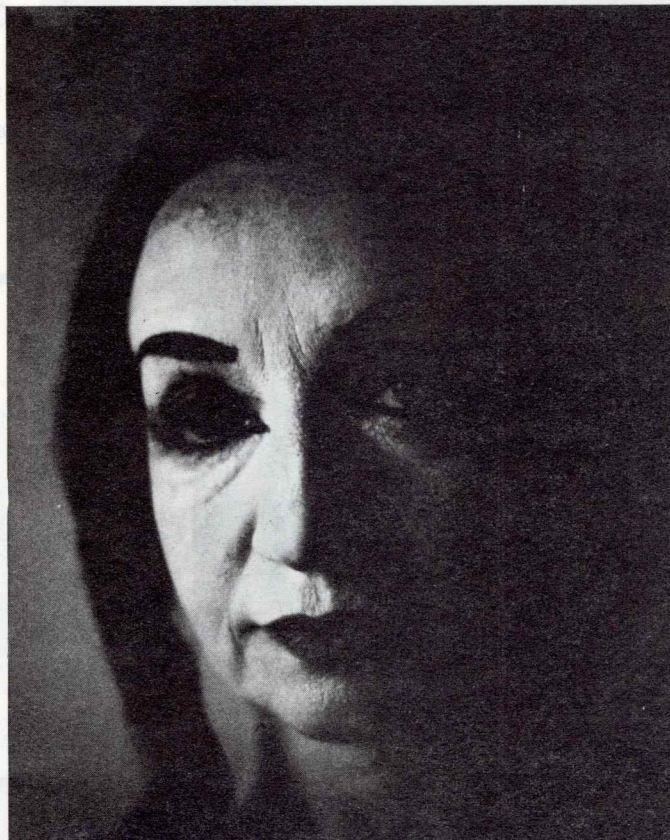
to make the hatred of
life logical.



Shhh

will
everybody
listen
please

will the animals
stop
HOWLING
please



will time

call off

its ultrasonic dogs

PLEASE

kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth

kiss me with your teeth
kiss me with your teeth
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kiss me with your teeth
kiss me



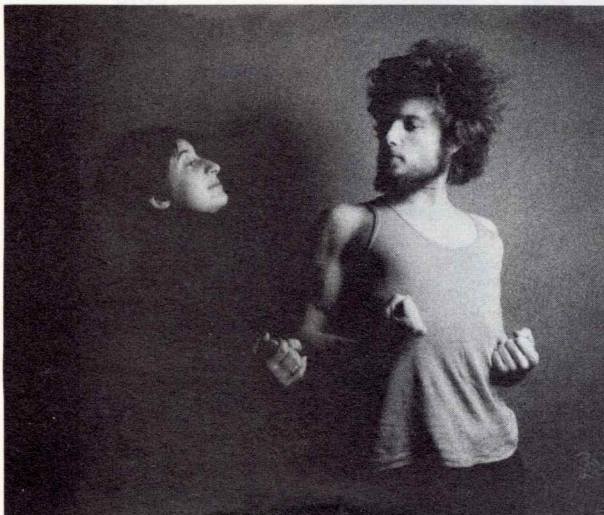


Still

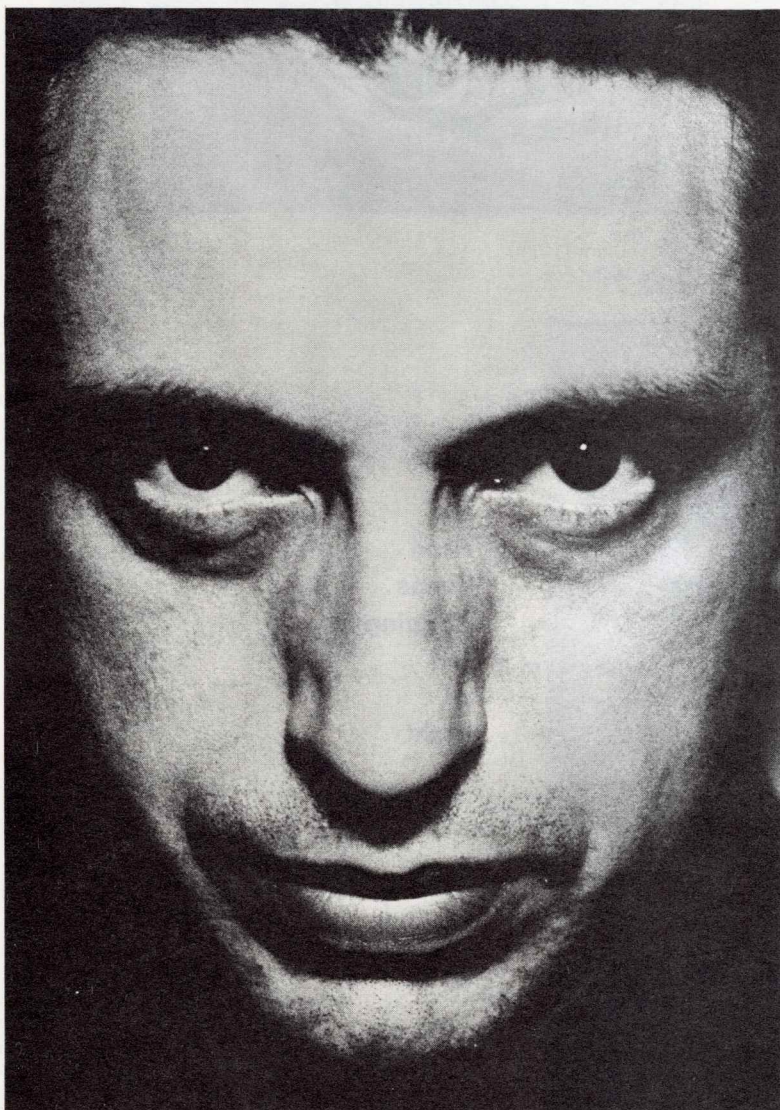
will
everybody
listen
please

i once wrote a hundred-foot poem in a snowstorm...

will the animals
also



hiding her breasts under a mother's heart
she met the savage judge
creamcheesed
sharing



not
his

hunger
getting hungry
and violent

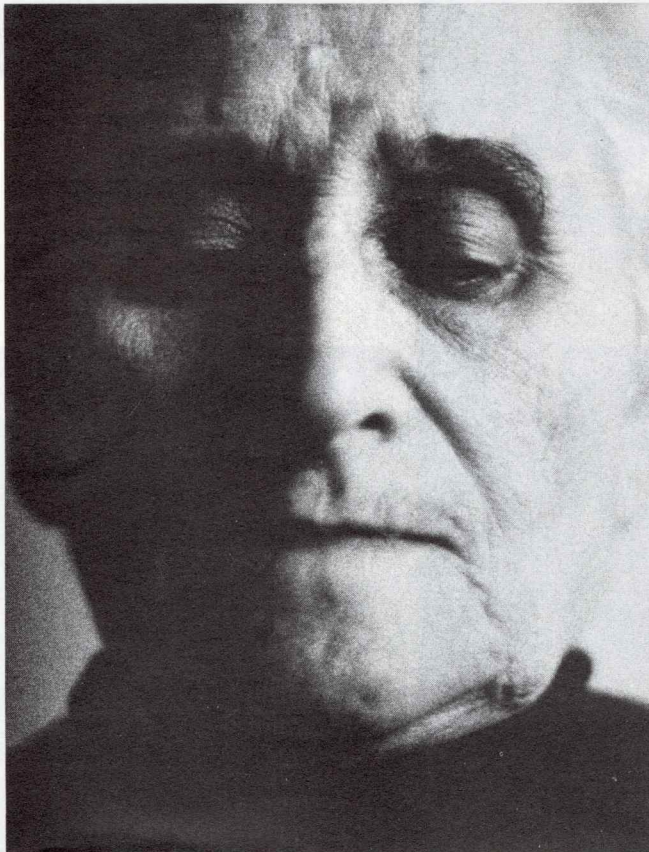
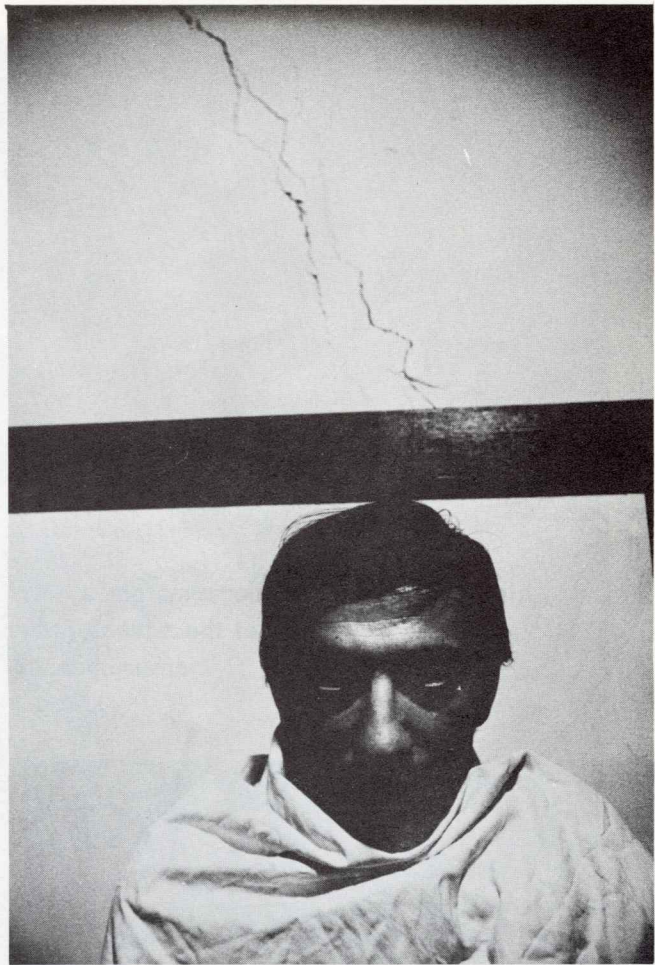
taking her
getting nothing
in the insanity factory

breeding children
and foul smells

perpetuating conquest



ever
since
i
started
using
that
greasy
kid
stuff

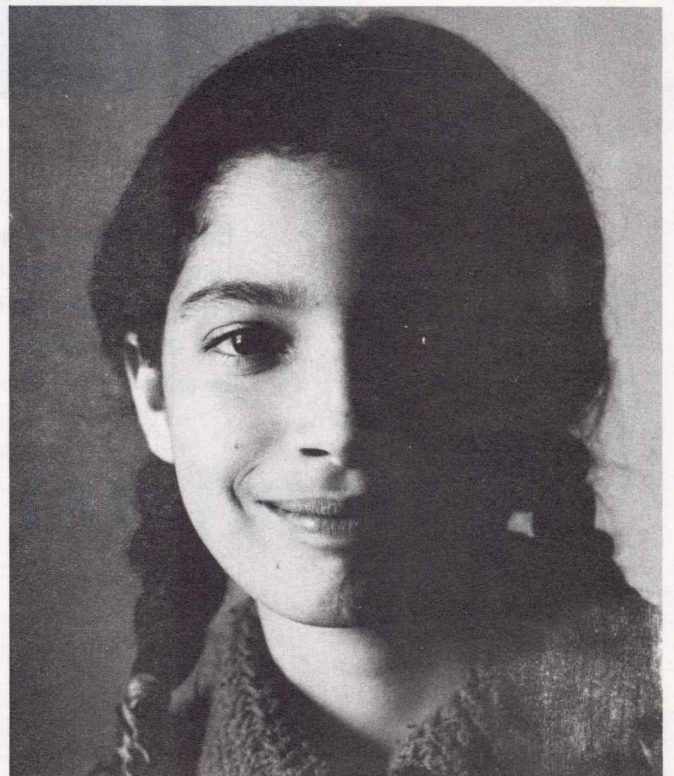


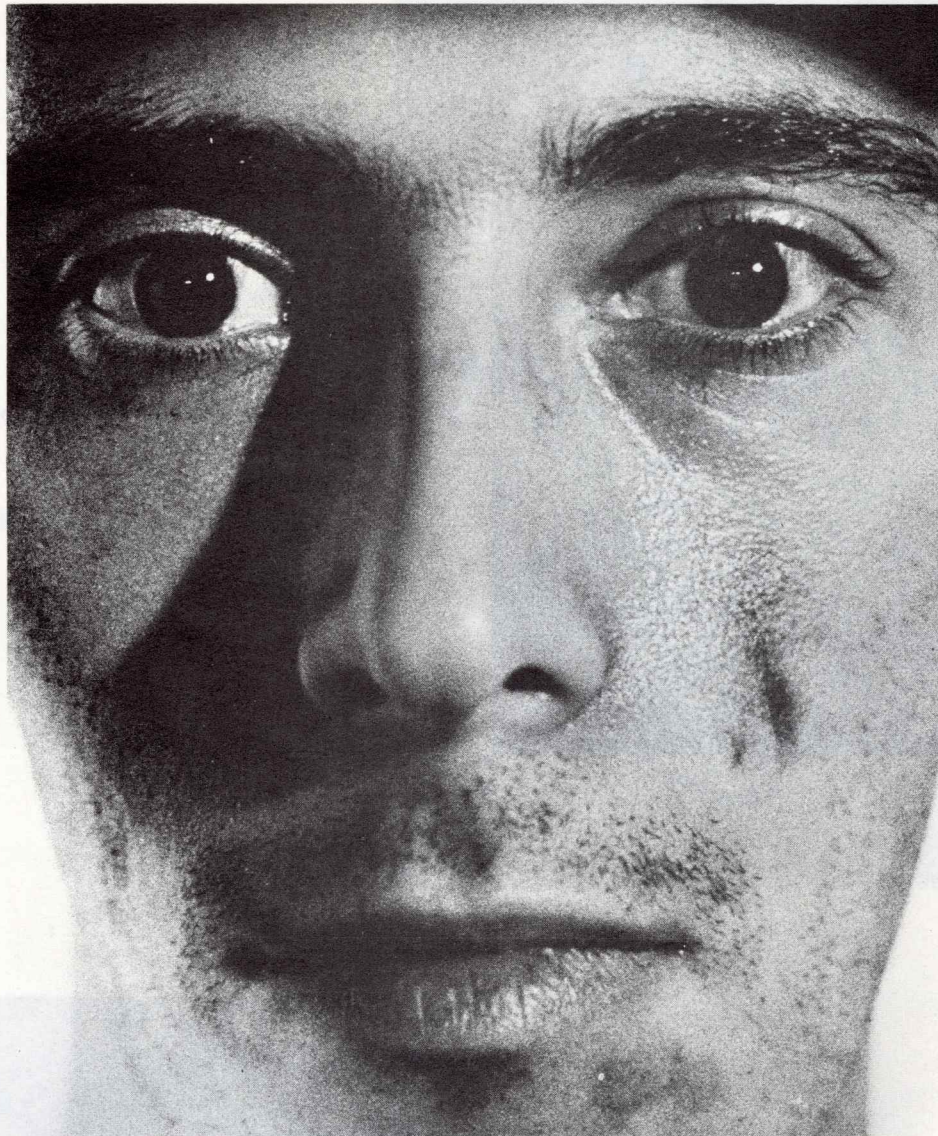
my
head
keeps
slipping
out
of
sight



you are my leather and my honey
my yellow roses
my electric chair
my drum drill sweat and my thistle

I love you

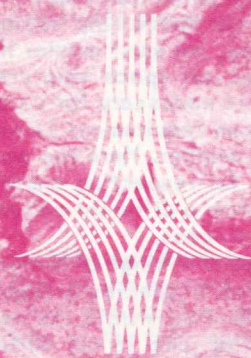




Each morning he got up and wrote
like a god or like a demon
piles of pages that were worthless
but that permitted him to light a fire
in order to continue writing through the night.

He'll be nothing but a man.

integron



blueprint for the future



A host of today's dominant trends - the rate of growth of populations, of information, of inventions, of electric power, of our capacity to kill - represent the accelerating change of our environment brought about by applied science and technology.

And over the thousands of years of man's development from hunter to nomad to farmer to early city dweller, the customs of the father for the most part served equally well over the life span of his son. The invention of type and the introduction of the scientific method in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries laid the base, in Western cultures, for some fundamental social changes. Leisurely integrated rural and town communities became increasingly fragmented into specialized societies committed to industrialization. Until recently, however, the basic patterns of family, school, church and government have held intact under the onslaught of technology.

The gap between technological and social change represents the difference between the demands on us for adaption and our developed capacity to adapt. It is a measure of the increasing stress, anxiety, fear and violence that we must live with. A critical fact of our time is that this gap is widening - and at a geometric rate. There are signs that we may be past the midpoint of the logistic growth of technology, but it seems likely we will face mounting stresses with their progeny of violence for at least several more decades.



Multiplying the stresses of a runaway technology are those of overcrowding. World-wide, people are jamming themselves into the cities. They spend more and more of their time struggling with the problems of congestion. The world's population is currently increasing at the rate of 190,000 people every day. High speed transportation and instantaneous global communications ensure that wherever these people are born their problems will become our problems.

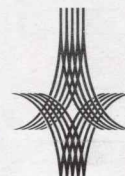
Marshall McLuhan has commented that our electric age has compressed us into a global village. Kenneth Boulding has proposed an even more useful model in pointing out that our world is being rapidly transformed into a "space ship" society. In a space ship everything has to be recycled and every member of the crew has to find a place for himself within this cycle. To the Canadian and American in particular, the transition from what Boulding calls the "cowboy economy" of exploitation and pollution to

the "space man economy" of extreme conservation of both things and people will call for some major changes in habits and attitudes.

So long as groups with differing customs were separated by plenty of space they managed to co-exist reasonably well. When overlapping occurred the strong used superior force to either annihilate or assimilate those with different habits and attitudes. Increasing members and the movement of peoples has led to a succession of ever more frequent and destructive outbreaks of violence - riots, revolutions and wars. In the first twenty years after Hiroshima, the Pentagon has tabulated forty "minor" wars and civil wars.

There is some reason to hope however that the bankruptcy of coercion is beginning to be recognized by mankind worldwide. Not only is coercion bankrupted by weapons of total annihilation but also by the demands of effective industrialization. Industrialization can only prosper when both knowledge and cooperation are increasing. If our space ship society is to survive, let alone develop, we must master the techniques of cooperation. For our space ship crew to keep the craft operative it is necessary for us all to love one other. The minimum requirement is that we learn how to respect each another. Here the word "learn" must be emphasized, for respecting another person, particularly a person from a different culture, is a very demanding learning process.

The issue is clear. We stand at a hinge of history. Whether or not man survives as a species probably depends upon whether or not we can, within the next twenty years, make a substantial jump in our ability to respect one another. In short, the key to our destiny at this time is "respect".



When our ancestors swung down from the trees - some 15,000,000 years ago, they began to undergo a series of transformations that led from forest ape, to ground ape, to territorial ape to cultural ape. The main argument of Desmond Morris' "The Naked Ape" is that we have to understand and respect these origins of our programming, which still play a dominant role in our behavior, if we are to have a hope of using our recently developed intelligence to survive and to realize our as yet largest untapped human potentials.

If our survival depends on making a leap in our capacity to cooperate within the next twenty years and if our cultural programming determined not only how we cooperate but even more important, whether we cooperate, then somehow we must find ways of alerting peoples world-wide to the imperative "respect each other or die". We must further develop means of describing and teaching the critical features of differing cultural patterns so it will become possible for us to learn how to respect them.

Through learning how to subdivide elements we have developed atomics and gained access to infinities of energies. Through learning how to relate the elements of electrical circuitry we created electronics and infinities of ways by which men can now contact and relate to one another. Now there is a desperate need for us to learn how to relate the elements of our

behavior, our attitudes and create a cultural atomics. By doing so we may reasonably expect to open up infinities of ways by which men can learn how to cooperate and grow together.

The beginnings of nuclear physics centered on the most exotic - the most obvious of radioactive materials. It was through studying these extremes that Rutherford, the Curies and other pioneers were able to discern the critical differences that had to be taken into account to release the power of the atom. In a similar fashion, the pioneers of cultural atomics - the cultural anthropologists - have worked out some of the fundamental principles of attitudes from their observation of exotic cultures. At this point we must look to our international development programs for the basic materials and support for effective work in cultural atomics. It is in our assistance to African and Asian countries in particular that we may expect to gain the critical cultural insights - insights that we in Canada could immediately apply to achieving a creative synergy between our two great cultures.



The situation today is strikingly comparable to that which existed at the beginning of World War II. Then the problem that preoccupied the minds of the men of the free world was to wipe out as quickly as possible the darkening strain of tyranny spreading from the alliance of the dictator states. The war was engaged and the solution rested in the mobilization of overwhelming physical forces. The exclamation mark that terminated the war was created by a consortium of physical scientists and technologists in a crash program that included the bomb. Today we face an even greater threat to our survival in the escalation of populations, expectations and nuclear weapons.

Then existed the potential of a solution in the minds of theoretical physicists and a developed pool of high talent manpower in science and technology. Now we have the potential of a solution in the emerging theories of the life and social sciences. We also have a considerable body of talented men and women in these sciences of man, many of them on this continent. In addition, we have available, the capacity of reaching hundreds of millions of people simultaneously.

For a fraction of the cost of the Manhattan Project, we could bring together a group of this talent to design and operate a cultural reactor capable of transforming the attitudes of hostility to those of cooperation. Such a facility could serve not only as an advanced centre for research and training in cultural atomics but also as a meeting place for international symposia and meetings to deal with the great social problems of our time.

The specifications for such a cultural reactor would probably include, amongst other features, the following:

- a dramatic FORM, both external and internal, capable of communicating to peoples everywhere the spirit of cooperation, interdependence and reverence for life;
- an interior design that was esthetically delightful, yet culturally neutral. Such a non-prejudicial context would allow peoples from most cultures to

adapt relatively easily yet be kept aware of the differences between their own and other occupants' habits and attitudes;

- a profusion of plant life to serve as constant reminders of the necessity of using biological rather than mechanical analogies in communication and problem solving;

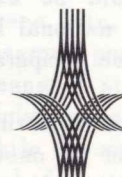
- a variety of opportunities for both individual and group physical activities. These would provide both for outlets for negative energies and occasions for learning the principles and techniques of attitude recognition and change;

- an operations amphitheatre that would make it possible for global problems to be visualized as a whole. What is visualized here is a social planning counterpart to the military operations room in the NORAD command centre in Colorado or the manned spacecraft centre in Houston, Texas.

- video-tape-television studios for the attitude training of specialists being prepared for assistance roles in international development. The videotape recorder with its fast feedback will become a major tool of cultural atomics;

- supporting systems including computer facilities, television and film studios, libraries, art department and environment design laboratory;

- living, dining, lounge, kitchen, maintenance and administration facilities.



The project needs its General Groves - a practical administrator of outstanding breadth of imagination and experience. It needs its Oppenheimer to coordinate the creative work of the consortium. It needs financial backing and the moral support of both industry and international agencies and governments. It is a project that can be brought into reality in less than three years.

Canada is centrally located on the global air-ocean map. We have access to the huge information, material and manpower resources of the United States. The combination of our intimate understanding of American culture and power and our bicultural makeup make us a natural mediator and advisor to friends both next door and abroad.

Here lies our unique opportunity. We need a unifying vision and a special area of excellence that all Canadians can take pride in. The bicultural conflict that currently preoccupies us is in reality one of our potentially greatest assets in international affairs. The resolution of this conflict can serve as a pattern for the achievement of cultural autonomy throughout the world. The establishment of Canada as a leader in research in cultural atomics and international development could give both French and English a mutual goal that would help them to transcend their conflicting attitudes.

We are privileged to occupy a critical role at this point in history. The rising flood of disintegration and violence calls for a response of the proper scale. We cannot afford to waste time with limited bailing activities however well intentioned.

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regarding tenure and due process of dismissals, but no one was so foolish as to believe that academic freedom could be guaranteed without academic sovereignty.

Administrations naturally presented their most unbending attitude on this key issue, however, and the American professional organization gradually succumbed. In recent years they have allowed the matter of academic sovereignty to pass quietly into oblivion, replacing their efforts toward it with the more limited goal of greater faculty participation in university government within the existing framework.

The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) seems to be dominated by a perhaps even more conservative element. Despite such gross violations of academic freedom as that perpetrated this fall at New Brunswick, they have usually refrained from the American association's standard reprisal (rather mild, considering that it is their ultima ratio) of censuring delinquent administrations. No significant progress should be expected from such an organization on the national level, though on local levels there are some comparatively militant faculty associations.

Student activists sometimes account for this faculty conservatism by assuming that professors, who are older, established in their jobs, and responsible for their families, have "sold their souls" to the establishment. But the economic status of the professors, compared with that of other professionals, is still far from enviable. The real cause of faculty apathy is, in my opinion, an attitude which has itself been fostered by and is adapted perfectly to their present position at the bottom level within the power structure.

If I may borrow a very apt phrase from a well-known producer of dairy products, I should like to describe this attitude as one of "contented cows". Those who have it are literally kept and milked by the external authority governing the university, and are content to continue this way, living in an illusory idealism and having no desire to accept the responsibilities which would accompany the restoration of their due authority. An institution builds them facilities, provides them with books, and places some students in front of them, and they proceed to fulfill their function, blissfully oblivious of such circumstances as, e.g., that the administration may be refusing to allow left-wing organizations to recruit on campus and encouraging right-wing ones to do so at the very moment when political pluralism is being preached in the classrooms.

The most insidious rationalisation in this attitude is its pseudo-professionalism. This aspect may be illustrated by the AAUP's statement on faculty

strikes in the June 1968 issue of the AAUP Bulletin and by the article on the same topic by Prof. Sanford H. Kadish in the same issue. Kadish maintains that professors, since they, as "professionals", enjoy a privileged autonomy in return for which they render society a service, should be sufficiently dedicated to the service in question so that they will not strike simply in their own interests, even to change unjustly low salaries. It does not occur to him that by refusing to strike in his own interests in such matters he is enabling society to prolong a situation which causes the teaching talent in younger generations to reject academic careers for more lucrative ones. This kind of "dedication" goes hand in hand with the contented cow attitude. It restricts itself to the immediate tasks in the classroom and the library, ignoring the relationship of that classroom and that library with the world beyond their walls. When harsh realities such as the fact that professors in North America today simply do not have the privileged autonomy of a profession intrude, Kadish avoids them with rationalisations like the equation of clerical with policy-making administration and an imaginary optimism that the proper relationships between his profession and society have been worked out satisfactorily even though they are still being violated repeatedly.

Student activists often feel that their own movement, too, is accomplishing too little too late. But the gains which it has made, especially in Canada, in only a few years, compare very favorably with the speed of the faculty movement. The very internal political organization of student governments in Canada is tremendously advanced over that in the U.S., and even the minimal student representation on university senates which has been won would have been viewed as Utopian not long ago.

Nevertheless, the weakness as well as the strength of the student movement can be seen by contrasting its methods with those of the professors. The students represent the opposite extreme from the contented cows. Their activities always center on the "crisis", the climactic confrontation, the drastic action. This is natural, not only because of their age, but also because the only way in which a population which is provided with no satisfactory channels of effective protest can finally express itself is through such revolutionary means. Some agitation was a necessary means to get serious trends toward change off the ground; at times only crises can awaken a society to its problems. But a movement totally dependent on crises (and even sudden, emotionally pitched all day "student sessions" are psychological crises) risks sterility because of its inherent irregularity and the reactions it provokes. Student leaders often find that they must manipulate their followers

into artificially-timed new crises to maintain their participation in later steps, and this, when it is perceived, causes increased hostility among administrators and, among the students, an alienation from their own leaders which ends in apathy.

There is the same problem with regard to the use of force or of measures which are, under the laws of the present establishment, illegal. Such measures go hand in hand with the crisis system; and they, too, while often necessary to gain preliminary concessions, can later cause only violent repression. I am not defending the "law and order" argument which finds even passive infractions by students violent while excusing incredible excesses of police brutality as "necessary". The use of force can, if the circumstances justify it, be a just and necessary means for innovating forces as well as preservational ones, and the total eclipse of academic sovereignty in our society is surely a sufficient justification. But the harsh reality for such unproductive members of society as academics is that the present authority, if only because of the overwhelming power for violence on which it is itself based, can only be changed by being convinced, i.e. by being re-educated. And for that task, the faculty methods seem better adaptable.

The two segments of the academic community could, in fact, provide excellent complements for each other in their movements. The criticisms, often just in both cases, levelled against students for rashness, extremism, and instability, and against professors for procrastination, complacency, and immobility could be remedied if the two could work together against their common enemy. But it is equally unrealistic to imagine that the establishment can be led to accept fundamental changes either by the (typically professorial) AAUP's method of handing institutions good grades for good salaries or by the (typically adolescent) student activists' method of simple disobedience alone.

Unfortunately, student and faculty movements, even in universities where they are both active, are often far from presenting a united front. They are satisfied to each pursue their own goals in friendly (and sometimes hostile) neglect of each other, and they may even connive with the administration against each other for their own short-range gains. There are obvious reasons for this. The university, as we have seen, began with the opposition of students and teachers, and there will always be friction between them. Still, those in either group who are serious-minded academics should understand that the control of university authority by outside financial interests is a far more serious problem. They should then unite their efforts to remedy that problem.

Such a union will presuppose a re-examination of their respective goals. They can no longer strive for a simple increase in their own roles in the existing university power structure; they must strive for a new structure which will respect their own need for sovereignty in their internal affairs vis-a-vis each other, a consideration for which the present power structure, with its universal centralized authority, is not adapted. First, administrative officers must be made internal university authorities, elected by and responsible to the academics, rather than to the representatives of the outside social establishment. And the elective system must be based not on a one-man one-vote basis, but on a principle of confederation between the two independent academic groups. But merely reforming the method of selecting officers will not be enough. Many administrative offices as they now exist would be anomalous in a democratic university. Presidents and deans, for example, now often hold final authority in powers which they have usurped from departments, professors, or students, such as the adjustment of grades, the hiring of new faculty, the granting of degrees, etc. Some offices, which depend entirely on usurped powers, must cease to exist (the work of deans of students, for example, should revert to the student associations). The others must be weakened, while the senate, after becoming entirely an elective body, must become the real authority in the university, rather than a mere advisory board to an autocratic president.

Like the dean of students, the traditional "chairman", often more honestly called a "department head", holds an office based mostly on usurped powers. (One often consults the chairman alone to obtain the "opinion of the department", for example.) Most of his powers concern professorial affairs, such as the assignment of courses to professors; these must revert to his faculty's majority, as determined in regular departmental meetings, in which the "chairman" will act as precisely that and no more. Others, in which students should have a voice, must be ceded to departmental student-faculty liaison associations.

As for boards of trustees, they must cease to exist as the supreme authority of the university, replaced by the senate. They may then legitimately function as representatives to the university of the financial sources on which it depends (that is, of course, in those cases in which it still does depend on the sources they represent). Once they are restricted to this, their proper function, there will be neither the need nor the right for either students or faculty to be members of them.

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*Your children are not your children.
They are the sons and daughters of Life's longing for itself.
They come through but not from you,
And though they are with you yet they belong not to you.*

*You may give them your love, you but not from you,
For they have their own thoughts.
You may house their bodies but not their souls,
For their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow, which you cannot visit,
not even in your dreams.
You may strive to be like them, but seek not to make them like you,
For life goes not backward nor tarries with yesterday.
You are the bows from which your children as living arrows are sent forth.
Let your bending in the archer's hand be for gladness.*

kahlil gibran



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